Information on Questimaire

on 21 March 1960

1. After some heater moment of marching hommed by armed Station branch services policemen and a few journalists we were arrested at 8. oam. On 21 March 1960 - at an exact fixed time for Orlando East, Mofolo Village and Jube-Socreta are as of Johannesburg. The Headent of the PAC- from Roberta Schoulder and the Lational Steadent of FOFATUSA (Rederation of Free African Frade Unions of South Africa) Jacob Dumdum Nyaosenlived in that Village for purposes of representing Area of Transvolal Political Party Headquarters of the Par Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azonia/South Africa. demonstrations starting on that fateful morning, — PAC- National Central Committee (NECmembers) had been ordered by Sobulus, to assemble at Mofolo Square. Mean broks house, I Depent nights at his brothers house he used for consulting with Prof, who staved a few yards near by. For six months ID, as brots close adviser or confident had swood from his house, in order to b noctional available for solving Sobukice's PAC-Organicational Campaign problems. African peoples lives were at stake- until the last moments of our launching masses much expected invincible TAC-FOFATUSA fower struggle, aggravated, by ANC-SACTIL-Congres Alliance and the Anglican Bishop Rev. Ambrose Rewer Siber.

They had given public ANG Allianues wrong assessment and disebutaged the public from taking the Pan Africanist Congress scarcorous scristoly. He ward to worch for the ANC openly claiming to be ape a king for it, as well as other organications. When Bishop saw them humiliated and decisively beaten by PAC. In expectation of possible police provocation and flying rumour that there was to be shortings at African demonstrations that following monday. the 21 March 1960. Solankore ordered that O P.K. Leballo Zephania Mothopeng and S. Togendane should also som him to lead the proletinan mases particularly as It -was to wind up a Spend Message Press Conference as the National trecition of POPATUSA Black African Workers and African Independent Umons' Organications) in South Africa who had played support. When the abovementioned leaders failed reporting in time at Mofolo Square, hot ordered the tack-force activists Their names reserved to for him for leading the Nations trop in his chagrin acked TD, It abandon the Black to others liberation movement fless Conference to join him begin Sharpeville Campaign. Black of or Ken had already declared their participation, Dand brofilest them to use their discretion - for they could realize that something went wrong and take action after hearing News that their leaders were already a frested!"

Je of guickly dressed up pand went with the task force to accompany frof. I found him furcone, amoyed by presomen demanding

had fromised to give them. As Chrisman and Seperator of the lasty, trop asked me to take our the Damonstration arrangements. I told the fournalists that anything night have happened toother three leaders who had not served - so took and I cancelled the tress Conferences I reminded them that the African people of Izania/ South Africa were waiting to hear that Kerident soloukire and, MAC leaders are abundy arrested. When the countrywide Sharpeville Campaign would gain the momentum for people's man supports There and then Sobukive appealed to the 5.6- men to walk not too close to the marches. as there were so many people for us to control. We received invaluable support from PAC-local branch officials Robert Adiloa and Lancelot Menzy, Mongomeziche brother Sigho and knox; faymond regalar, Simon Made, Seorge Siwira land S. T. Agendance joined us to make up for PAC (NEC) three leader who led the proletinat masses under the Slogan of "To bail" "To defence" and "To fines". At the eve of launching PAC from its own reliable sources got at advanced tip of information that there were Africanista demonstrators the police had been asked to shoot at mofolo Lunday meeting which was to be followed by
the beginning of the Campaign that monday
21 Match 1950. Rather than call off the meeting
fref JD and Calle were advised not to attend
that meeting. Although JD, wasn't going
to be there - attending the last POTATISA

Conference of 19 March 1960. When the black African Workers made it known that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azama South Africa for Overthrow of Aparthelia tale, Para Jawa l'egiplation and enforcement of articulated African peoples Demands that were repeated at the Regional Special High Court in Ishamosburg - took the whole country and plunged law and order into a storm on a dark-cloud of uncertainty from that hovering gloom to this day have of. With the entire African place people having joined and marches to toke Stations the symbola of tretaria-rule - the ANC-Congressis Alliance of Five Organizations and chiloches - awakened by the PAC/FOFATUSA Sharpeville Campaign swallowed their much warnted denigratory idle talks and dissemination of a lie that the PAC (which was only the nine months-old liberation subsement it had no clout to cause fanic - in other words the tival ANChad contributed in micleading South African Authorities to believe that the Starpoville PAC/FOFATUSA (African population and African Black Workers? Nacs Laws Campaign) was in ANG-Congressed Alliance a non-starter. Starked by the demestic and international solidarity in the whole country and abroad the ANC-Alliance-without holding any Conference of its own - issued a public statement enging the people of South Africa to write and make arrangements for giving

black Africaniste who had been mascaced by the para-military tolice army on 21 March 1960 of that useek. This was done by Charterists (Am) through their Headent Chief. Doort J. Juliul. While this looked a great patriotic good deed and statesmanship— it was a hamful intervention by the reval ANC-organizations into the Campaign. The ANC- that boasfully refused form and accordingly (with PAC - 8 leaders imprisoned the ANC did set-up a Joint-Committee for National Gurial of the the FAC/FOFATUSH missacred activists. As a result the whole mankinds sympathy and attention was influenced to think that the Mankinds Accioive Action by the people of South Africa had been launched for Mankind to give Solidarity to the ANC-Alliance, who had come forward before whole mankind to bury their dead, The world knows very little about why the HNC- Congresses Alliance leaders were sent to prisons, They were sent to proon on detention because they had represed at FAC's invitation to stand top and be counted opposing Apartheid' as the PAC/PSFATUSA (African Black Workers) did when the bugle was blown. The political historians rightly of wrongly still believe that amongst everything clase the thing that the ANC-Afflictive leader got reared about was that those who join shall not be allowed to call in their relatives to buy tail, - engage a favoyer for defence, - nor be allowed to pay fines. However, the irray of it all - is that the credit

of South Africa's Anti- A partheid worldwide mounted and international solidarity moral and material assistance went to these who had denounced and ridiculed the PAC /FOFATUSA Action hogames for introducing worldwide opposition to write minority rule apartheid and racram.

Resident Sobakese and Collective (earlosship):

He soon the Conference on April 1959 had elected the PAC hierarchy - frof Aaid: or Swontlemen I am no demis God and I don't wish to be one. Otence it invote everyone of you to bring herein your ideax recommending before me - what you think the PAC should do. Let us be a Collection Leadership—that means we are equals in the NFC.

on a regional basis to make the Party effectively representativel - other than the (NWC) began writing to life - other angiven opening a professional assignments. Skee emerges tref's greatness - he gave us freedom of mind and the privilege to contribute. The authors would have done an injustice to those few whos we happen to know what they contributed - those we don't mention - we have left them out because we don't mention - we have left them out because we don't have the files in hand even though some we have of course.

"The struggle continues unabated". The Constitution of the PAC, was drawn-up by Jephunia Motholpeng heading his Committee. The FAC-Slogan "Lect we forget" was phrased by Jana Mahome, for use on Status Campaign" hand bells - which were parted on Loore and windows of fopular Mationshide

leading Stores in the Country in one night and yet That "Status Campaign" was in fact a camouflage shielding the 21 March 1960 devastating Sharpeville Revolt + A Cexploited. When we showed and exided confidence that we PAC/POFATMSA were going to change Azania South Africa - we get pressured to say how? We then sold the Leden of the Status Campaignas a yere floy. The real 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Pass Jans Political Revolt Campaign was contrived to its minutiae by the brof outlined it a bloom fortein on the 95 eptember 1959 and I D. entered discussion to defend the dynamism and efficaciononess. At. AP. Mdas emotional reaction and surprise of Joy he shouted: Thine Kante le Fora will loriage simphakamice ryezandla simthuple (Goodness, So this man is a hero, let us lift him on our shoulders! Then the MEC-members sang! He is a jobly good fellow" song to D, for a few minutes before trop asked for recumption of other business on the Agenda. On return to Johannesburg from Bloemfortein, It of event to say! Foodbog, to his relatives in Graeffleinet. While JD went to bid farewell to him farents in lost Shepstone, of source salar to slaughter black bull for community facting a traditional ritual. In PAC-honour, before returning to lead African masses Sharpeville Campaign that Engendered the by PAC/FOTATUS, black officer workers resolved in fighting to overthrow the scourge of Heartheid in our motherland. The elimination of which shall usher - white and black united communities into on near Jen-racial Demorate Giant Monalithis State

of Azania/South Africa." It should know intention to state in no uncertain terms in this book of contemporary history of Sobukwe's young Generation, that the defearing nathling noise about the resurrected 1955. Fee dom Charter demounced and burted by the PAC/FOFATUSA Sharpeville Campaign African peoples Resolt Mation Rople demonstrated African public opinion and renunciation of the ANC-policies as the Country made an unquestionable endorsement for PAC-Sobukure's Collective leader hip. Why not pressfor politics of freedom for South Africa's black majority to decide? He to which theration Movement, should dialogue with Ketoria Administration? Whether on "ANC Freedom Charter tolities of a Multi-racial Society for recognizing Group interests in South Africa which had been AMC-Congresses Alliance Manifesto Kliptown Mandate, or whether the African Seoble wish to rectorate their National Mandale Manifesto and support for tAC- to dialogue for the regoliated Con-tacial Democratic Mojority-ricle Africanist Monolithic State In which "There shall be Freedom of the Industrial ferson regardless of his or her solour of Nationationality ordered by the person declares allegiance to the Sepublic of Asania whose "Constitution" shall be approved by consensus of majority participating in the Dialogue of National Reconculiation and I national Minity." The idea that there should be a fontitutional Dialogue" between he tuling white Minority regime of - the Nationalist Tarty was agreed Spetiocen fretorials regime on 21 Barch 1966 in Parliament at Case lown. But when the

AAC - belegation led by Major Phillip Kgosana arrived they overe arrested by Police Security Armed Services - as they halted to be ushered Sine In all fairness to the African peoplethe Reteria regime should consider the release of PAC-Solochwes outent successor PAC-Leader Rephania Mothopeng-who inter-alia is Serving 30 years in poor health at 75. Such a gesture could facilitate RS Refirst move for PAG to recurring a Tational Dealogue lest we forget it is on record and witnesses are alwe (I tom some) of those who were arrested in a breach . of faith on the part of South African Minortus Astliament that had seen AC emerging to regotiate Sour, Deputy Aime Minister and Ms who pledged to negotiate with AC liberation movement on 2/2 March 1960 week', Says ID Typose Since then PAC-Precident R.M. Sobukwe the first imprisoned political prisoner and popular political Porty (ARC) leader tretoria had never made any more to resume its Dialogue good to the Pan Africanish Congress Party that as from 21 March 1960 had established worldwide proof to be the most and authentic refresentative to engage in the Dialogue - until such time that the black African majority could once again determine in a four contest as to which liberation is more representative to speak for the African people. However in the appence of that acid test for an election between has the the to summon up.

The allegedly anonymously drawn up and later adopted by Enperence of four organisations to wit; a) Communist Party of South Affillower (S. A. Congress of Democrats during its ban (SACOD)

B) South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)

c) South African Coloure of Peoples Organisation

(SACTO)

agreed for their convenience to retain the title name "African National Congress - which when agreed for their convenience to retain the title name "African National Congresses Alliance" to include them as one body within the framework of the Freedom Charter they adopted

Immediately the African testels Majority under the PAC-backet by FOF ATUSA in the deginning of todays ever unfolding shatteville Compaigns. The African feetle had the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania/South Africa - Banned However, as a safety measure the ANC-Congressoftliance organisations were affected by PAC Banning Order. Equally, so the other ofganisations afficient in the ANC/SACTIL Congresses Alliance they also became victims of the PAC liberation moognent in South Africa.

In the circumstances, it would not be wrong to accept for arguments sake that the other organizations having become banned—they lost their privilege of seeking and obtaining their constituencies constituencies

issues they face and political positions and principles, they adopt on the future of the lattitory. For instance they were caught unware by the State of Emergency in Merch 1960 and the banning orders which banished them from activity and existence. and his Colleagues However, theirdent Scouking as a thirtiers of the country's Liberation movement revolution had sought, obtained, Kateonal mandate to prosecute the Anti-Apatheid struggle. Until, Independence - Schfdetermination with a constitutional bill of hights franchise for every human being person regardless of his/or her colour is achieved between all interested parties in Bania/South Africa. It should be noted that the THC mandate was obtained before introduction of the " Danta Conclands tribal divede and rule policy. For that reason the Pan Apricanist Congress of Azaria daims sole mandate to be accepted internally and internationally as the first liberation movement organization to speak and regotiate on behalf of the African Majority indigenous people of Azama in search for National Mily and Self-determination for all-but such a most - according to breadent & out we have heydays Minking was not to take precedence before negotiations for National Reconciliation between the entire communities who comprise the Edgukeve Africanists generation committed in dismanting all

institutions and vertiger of Apartheid Colonial rule which have divided and fitted oxch individual human beings and citizens against each other for over 336 years under the pretext of a civilizing mission

African Keople Rejected treedom Charter in 1955. Anonymously drawn up and later presented to Kliptown Conference convened by African National angrees / SACTU and Others herebefore mentioned by these bages - it was condemned on 21 March 1966 in the history of African Hope of South Africa at Sharpetille Countrywide Demonstrations. Hence it lost its charioma when exposed by African people in PA Chevolt And yet to bresident Solykwes Collective Leader on 9 January 1949 denounced Apartheid cape Town. When at the angerence of the Institute of Race Relations in South Aprica Presided by Madam Agnes Horrile, Chancellor of the University of Witwaters and in Chamedourg Abatheid Polley Secture by Professors of the University of Stellenbouch was first introduced to the International Community. At that Conference Hyanse had been Cas a Labour Leader serving in a Matal Hovincial and City of Durban Council for Europeans-Coloureds Indians and Aprilans Council for Social Justice Affairs appointed by In Non-European Affairs Council whese eminent persons consisted of two

Judges to wit : Justice J. broome Justice Henocoberg, Proposor S. D. Agrebo, AUG. Champion Chairman of Natal, Advisory Boards St. P. Ngwonya (Business man member) the Mayor of the City of Seet ban (1949), and J.D. Nyarse (representative of African Workers and Labour, Afrairs) in the Chairman Justing Broome of the Matal Supreme Court in listermaritating who suggested that for the "Oficial heteria fortiment fecture" he was asking the Committee agree that their deligate should be J. I Myabre to reprosent otal browince in Cape Town. When this was approved with a vote the fudge spoke of his experience in working with Lyabo in the Committee and he wiged that he should be told that he enjoys the confidence of the Natal Non- Eutropean and Europeans Commettee And that having said that the Natal Prosince teople whites and blacks) give Nyabse a mandate to take whatever stand on Apartheid - the Natal South Africans shall stand by his convictions. This episode shall appear probably in Nyasse's life story of he is given a chance to tell. Lish the fact that the Worldwide Anti-Apartheid Scourge Campaignowas first introduced in South Africa/Azania by one of PAC-Leaders: J. D Myable in January 9, 1949 when Aparthoid Official volicy was only nine months old,

and that in the past 39 years. Myabse didn't writy author PAC-Sharpeville Anti-Abattleid Pass Laws and Anti-White Minority Domination Campaign but his Condemnation of Aparticist was raised and debated in South African 1949. tarliament. There would reporting white KiA-Parliament, for innovating idea hat it be opposed decrees a citation recognition by manking! As an author I would be failing by not letting international Community people in the world Knows, ahoscientifically diagnosed the harmful generidal inherent dangers to life that Aparthedona to inflict upon (whites and blacks) and its throat to world leaveny predictions and untice! Africa Conference - held at the University of Cape Town - Tyasse took the from O and routed Stellenbosch University Hofeosons and dismissed their lecture and returned to a great coelcome by the City of Durban Roder in Jahuary 1949. For the Africanists

in Jahuary 1949. For the Africanists

it is clear new that the Sharbeville

Anti African leader the Sharbeville

of institutionalized Afraitheid on 21 March 1961

was approved by African Workers as a progressive more
towards fulfilment of African leadership warning My abse

had made to Pretoria regime. That his African

people shall never melkly swoming to harpooning along in his balour movement and within politics of the Pan Africanist Ongress (DAC) contended - that no white leader shall abandon Apartheid and remain Head of see it State in Bouth Aprica / Azaria a see see it today. As indigenous beoble we and our heirbornland we have sended up hostages of British Colonial rule - an

Imperial, a tritish Legacy whose suffering cannot be renounced without necessary and indomitable determination by three Kations who should have demonstrated in 1902-1909 epoch. Embracing political emancipation for the three peoples british Settlers and beet Commandoes - Afrikaners; and the territory's Kingdom of the Likely Koyal toognment had fought was against each other with Zuller defending lands of the indigenous populations against expansions of colonialism. This does not mean asking for revival of any particular ethnic nationality to dominate others. But South Africans Reed not wish to yeate a New Non-racial Democratic Society-Federation: or call it as you wish, by avoiding historical facts, tole and responsibility of the Imperial british Isosemment and her Heir who should be recalled to review the Vereniging British Goer Treaty For it excluded or rappored the participation of the Third military intervention on behalf of the infighting boer Commandoes and the Imperial British Armyhad proved as a satalysto Government to stop the Furo pean peoples suicidal war in South Africa. For up to that bount in history the Imperial British Government and the Afrikaner Community of were still recognizing South Africa's sovereigntly of the Royal Zuly Monatchis on behalf of indigenous people as a whole-who wer themselves united

Zulu controlled and deployed regional Homies during that epoch traditional Edeology of nationalism as a unifying factor. The Zulu Royal Government Southern Africa was helping providing troops to defend indigenous people of they were threatened by any Colonial Power in Southern Africa. But in the Shamfata war to resist imperial british Invasion in Matal -which involped all white people of suropean origin fighting objectively to win a war of Military Conquest for Azania/South Africa territory as a whole, the Zulle King Dinizulu, after the Bush War had went and pleased for his Country and people at Her Majestir's British Army Headquarters in filtermarity bury boers are not to blame for Gritish That War of Conquest, Her Majesty & Government of Great Britain accepted King Dinizulus systender accepting that the South African people and their country accept british rule and their Status of being British Colonial peoples of South Africa. And that steps being taken by the Lulu Monarchy in this search for peace was the only option and the right thing to do tat this given situation - for the the Zulu Foremment speaking for all indigerous people and UK- fighting for

colonial - rule by Her Majesty's Government on behalf of all White and Black South Africans on her territory or colony. Finally when the Imperial British leovernment drew up the South Africa Act Constitution "of 1909 - it was emphasised that if most whites and british in England — were still opposed to the inclusion of univilized black people in the Bill of Rights and Boognment Administration-"Constitution of 1909" should live them out to be taken care of by Her Majerty's brownment and that the question of indigenous African Deople in the affairs of their Country - shall be tackled by Vereeniging Freaty Parties have been united as this is the case today. In the circumstances, those who wish a review of this boilech Constitutional Dilemma - they should bear in mind that the British Colonial Factor of a Constitution of Discrimination is the root cause of the South African British dilemma It calls for emergence of a rethinking by both Blacks and Whiten - without indulging in tecriminations over the past betrayals for commit

ment to reconciliation—is all that we need. No amount of fighting can reverse the right past mistakes—except a determination to heal those scars of our dead. We should not lose sight of the fact that they died so that the Imperial British Constitutional dilemma can be regotiated and peace achieved—without anybody or the otherside being expected to surrender you can surrender and later realise that to surrender does not engender feace to end caucia of conflict. It is only heart to heart Dialogue which produces genuine peace.

Arcadent- Sobukwe served suffered and sacrificed in starch for feace—but he was missinderstood by many as advocating exclusive raciof African Black-rule. With Whites—being forced or thrown into the sea if they don't assimilate. I had been President Sobukwe's righthand man larty advisor. I deny that he privately or his mind he had such hatred for white South Africans that if PAC, had acquired Power that how been happy to see whites leaving the Country fleeing from Africanists

Tationalist Government in Azania/South

Robert Sobukwe Papers

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand Location:- Johannesburg

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DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- A2618-Ck12

Document Title:- Essay: Information on Questionnaire, on 21 March 1960 (copy of handwritten)